

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

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854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. I, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

/824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
291 (kamúsay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

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Iwardn: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwardn* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kéláy*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kéláy* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kéláy*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC-P, 1: 226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mañimud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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241 (Codiaeum variegatum [L.] Blume), croton. Leaves very variable in
224 form and color.

The *patoddón* (Euphorbia neriifolia, L.), a fleshy shrub.

The *sinandila*, (Nopalea coccinellifera [Mill.] Salm-Dyck), cochineal fig.

The *binadg* (Helianthus annuus, L.), sunflower or turnsole.

[30] The *tugnúr*: A herb about half a yard tall. Its red fruits, strung on a thread, are worn around the head by boys and girls.

The *báoñ* (Crinum asiaticum, L.). Flowers white and fragrant.

The *katañiláy* (Alosia cristata, L.), cockscomb.

The *batónit* (from the Spanish *botones*, "buttons"), (Gomphrena globosa, L.), globe amaranth.

The *apasopáso* (Alternanthera versicolor, Regel). Leaves green and red or purplish.

And several others mentioned before, chiefly when treating tobacco amulets.

Cultivated for other uses

241 The *rawád* (Piper betle, L.), betel or betel pepper.

241 The *dilawá*: A variety of domesticated betel with large yellow leaves.

[22] The *tíba* (Croton tiglium, L.). Its fruits are used for poisoning fish.

The *sailáy* or *kápat* (Ceiba pentandra [L.] Gaertn.), God tree, ceiba tree, Bombay ceiba, silk-cotton tree or kapok tree.

[29] The *arinosó*: A tree whose bark is used for G-strings, headbands, strings, etc. Its leaves are very large.

The *darapiniyá* (derived from *piníyá*, Spanish *piña*, "pineapple"), *magí* or *amaráy* (from the Spanish *maguey*), (Agave cantala, Roxb.),

[28] *maguey*, sisal hemp or century plant. Its fiber is used for thread to sew clothes.

The *lubixán* (Sansevieria zeylanica [L.] Willd.), bowstring hemp. It prevents smallpox from entering the village.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other
about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

- 291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They
keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is
confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, decorated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[276] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small
[293] belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string
or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
● 301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver
and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned
porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders
here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[254] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies
are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over
one shoulder.

- 292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen*; a cloth girdle,
bajacat; a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on
shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red;
a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, ²⁹²*sajaban*; earrings, *lubay*; a necklace of larger beads, ³⁰¹*ambusao*; red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy*; red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati*; small anklet beads, *pasag*; a bead wrist band, *sinali*, and a silver ring, *sankilat*. Her lips are made red ^[300] with betel nut, *ma-ma*, and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag*; red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddō*; bag, *pulsa*; neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising*; and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot*. This is topped ^[293] with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, ²⁸⁶ and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange ³²³ for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats. ⁴³⁹ ⁴³³

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses ³⁴² which have artistic lines. The usual size is about ³³⁵ 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil*. On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral